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ABSTRACT

This paper distinguishes Bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian language) and Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) according to type and function and summarizes their development as the national languages of Malaya, Singapore, and Indonesia. It presents a short, historical account of the spread, through religious and educational activities, of the English language in Malaya and Singapore and the Dutch language in Indonesia. Some instances in which these imposed languages become the languages of political and cultural protest and came into contact with the national languages are described and a tentative assessment of the present position and status of English and Dutch in the three countries is attempted. (Author)

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CULTURAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE IMPOSITION IN MALAYA, SINGAPORE, AND INDONESIA

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Introduction

This paper distinguishes Bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian language) and Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) according to type and function and summarizes their development as the national languages of Malaya,* Singapore and Indonesia. It presents a short, historical account of the spread, through religious and educational activities, of the English language in Malaya and Singapore and the Dutch language in Indonesia. Some instances in which these imposed languages became the languages of political and cultural protest and came into contact with the national languages are described and a tentative assessment of the present position and status of English and Dutch in the three countries is attempted.

Types of Languages in Malay, Singapore and Indonesia

When individual languages are compared, it is possible to distinguish them along scales in a typological classification. Stewart (1962) divides languages along one axis according to type and along a second axis according to function. The differentiation into types is made in terms of four attributes of which the first is Historicity (whether or not the language is the result of a process of development through use), the second Standardization (whether or not there exists for the language a codified set of grammatical and lexical norms which are formally accepted and learned by the language's users),[1] the third Vitality (whether or not the language has an existing community of native speakers) and the fourth Homogenicity (whether or not the language's basic lexicon and basic grammatical structure both derive from the same pre-stages of the language).

These four attributes can combine in various ways to produce (in Stewart's typology) seven language types, ranging from Standard to Marginal in descending order of social prestige. These are Standard, combining all four attributes; Classical, combining the first, second and fourth; Vernacular, combining the first, third and fourth; Creole, combining the first and third; Pidgin, marked only by the first attribute; Artificial, marked by the second attribute, and possibly by the fourth, and Marginal, marked possibly by the fourth attribute, but not by any other.

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*In this paper I am concerned only with the Malay Peninsula and not with the North-West Coastal area of the Island of Borneo (Sabah and Sarawak).

Examples of the first three types (Standard, Classical and Vernacular), the fifth (Pidgin) and the last (Marginal) are to be found in Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia. In Malaya and Singapore, various Chinese languages (particularly Kuo Yu, Hokkien and Chinese), Malay, English and Indian (e.g., Tamil) can be classified as Standard; high Tamil and 'Raja Malay'[2] as Classical; Kashmiri, Pashto and Arabic as Vernacular and English as Pidgin.[3] In Indonesia, Javanese, Sundanese, English, Dutch and Indonesian can be classified as Standard languages while Madurese, various Chinese languages and languages such as Balinese, Batak, Bugis and Minangkabau can be styled Vernaculars when they are spoken by persons originating from the regions in which the language communities of these particular languages are grouped.

In all three areas, a form of Malay is used as a Marginal language in households and in other limited situations. In Malaya and Singapore, it will have absorbed elements from different Chinese and Indian languages and dialects and of the English lexis, for example, 'Le'go-kan!' when the ball is going out of play in a football game and a player wishes it to go out; or 'pass tujoh' (pass seven) to describe a student who reached the grade formerly known as Standard Seven but who failed subsequent examinations. In Indonesia it may have some of the lexical and phonological characteristics of other Indonesian languages and dialects and of Dutch (e.g., kantur--office).

Languages which may be compared as to type may also be compared as to function. Different languages may have differing functions as media of communication within a state and each may perform several roles. The functional categories suggested by Stewart are (i) Official--the use of a language as the legally appropriate one for all political and culturally representative purposes, (ii) Group--the use of a language primarily by the members of a single ethnic or cultural group or sub-group, (iii) Wider Communication--the use of a language, other than an official one, for communication across language boundaries for purposes of trade and commerce within the nation, (iv) Educational--the use of a language, other than an official one, as a medium of instruction at some level of the educational system, (v) Literary--the use of a language, other than an official one, primarily for literary or scholarly activities, (vi) Religious-- the use of a language primarily in connection with the practice of a religion and (vii) Technical--the use of a language primarily as an access to international and scientific literature. These categories may, for the purpose of classification, be linked together and correlated with language types. Thus, in Malaya, English is a Standard language according to type and an official language according to function, sharing its classification as a Standard language and as an official language with Malay. In Singapore, English is an official language and, in common with Chinese, Malay and Tamil, a Standard language. In Indonesia, on the other hand, it is a Standard language, an educational language, a language of wider communication and a technical language, but it does not have the status of an official language.

Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia as National Languages

(a) Bahasa Malaysia:

Functioning as an official language, Malay is also the national language of Malaysia and is referred to as such in the Constitution. It is the national language of Singapore and one of the four languages which may be used in the legislative assembly.

The progress of the Malay language as a written medium and its development into a national language is connected with the growth of Malay literature. Winstedt (1940) regards Abdullah bin Kadir Munshi (Munshi Abdullah) as a principal contributor to the development of the Malay language, largely because of his skill as a biographer and his ability to comment vividly on the events of his own times. His interest in Malay philology, although never developed in his own work, was taken up by his son, Mohammad Ibrahim bin Abdul Kadi Munshi. Mohammad Ibrahim, who became secretary to the Sultan of Johore, wrote a children's reader, an account of five voyages to the West Coast of Malaya and a study of the Malay language which Winstedt believes may have encouraged the formation in 1888 of

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a Society for learning and teaching linguistics. This Society which, among other activities, settled many Malay equivalents for English terms, was, after a period of inaction, revived in 1934 under a charter granted by the Sultan of Johore.

The Malay Translation Bureau, (now the Dewan Bahasa Nasional), founded in 1924 with the object of providing textbooks for the Malay-medium schools and the growth of Malay journalism which began in 1876 with the publication of the "Jawi Peranakan," gave fresh impetus to the language and encouraged the development of a modern literature. It was not, however, until after the Second World War and under the influence of feelings of nationalism that the bulk of Malay writers became convinced that their language could be used for modern, practical needs and as a medium of literary expression. According to Mohammad Taib Osman (1961), the failure of the Malay language to harness the energies of Malayan society before the war was because of the already entrenched position of English. There was also very little contact in the literary field between Indonesia and Malaya and this contributed to the unequal development of the language in the two countries. Although, however, the language developed at different speeds in Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia, it did not proceed in different directions.

(b) Bahasa Indonesia:

In Indonesia, the Malay language, originally a lingua franca of the area, was strengthened as a result of missionary enterprise, political expansion and the nationalistic aspirations of Indonesian writers and politicians. Malay was used to propagate the teachings of Islam and was adopted quite early by Protestant Ministers in the Moluccas in an effort to oust Portuguese Catholicism. It also served, as Halim (1971) has pointed out, as a practical medium of inter-regional and inter-insular communication for Indonesians and was used as a means of communication between the colonial government and the people at large.

Nationalism at first manifested itself in a growing demand for opportunities to learn Dutch because, by acquiring this language, Indonesians, according to Halim, hoped to benefit from better job opportunities, better pay, higher social status and the opportunity to learn and benefit from the "cultural and technological wealth" of the West. However, following the recommendations of the Indonesian Youth Congress of October 28, 1928, Malay was adopted as the language of the Indonesian nationalist movement and became one of the rallying points of the movement's struggle for independence. Alisjahbana (1961) noted that, in addition to the oath taken at the 1928 Congress at which the participants bound themselves to one fatherland, one nation and one language, several other factors were responsible for the development of Malay as the official and national language of the new Indonesia. These were the publication in Malay of an influential magazine, the "Pudjangga Baru" ("The Young Poet"), a ban placed on the use of Dutch during the Japanese occupation of the East Indies and the establishment in 1942 of a Committee to look into the development of the language.

The various factors which led to the adoption of Malay as the official and national language of Indonesia were not all of the same character. Some, like the publication of the literary magazine, had cultural implications. The relationship between language and culture, for example, had to be taken into account in the choice of vocabulary to express scientific and technological terms. Alisjahbana notes that one group of concerned Indonesians gave preference to terms derived from Sanskrit words, another group preferred words of Arabic origin and a third group plumped for words of Greco-Latin origin. The group which preferred Sanskrit words represented a nationalist section of the population which harked back to the Hindu period in Indonesian history. The preference for Arabic words came from a group influenced by Islam and Arabic culture and the last group represented Westernized, internationally oriented Indonesians whose ideal was an internationally uniform terminology.

The conscious efforts which were made to develop Bahasa Indonesia as the national language have been criticized recently on the grounds that language is dynamic and

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cannot (to use Alisjahbana's term) be "engineered" unless this dynamism is taken into account:

> "...the notion of 'language engineering' may be precisely what is needed in multilingual countries like Indonesia if the term means simply language development in such a way and to such an extent that it becomes capable of serving both as a language or science and technology and as a medium of communication in the daily affairs of the community."
> (Halim, p. 14)

The most important decisions affecting the choice of language for an independent Indonesia, however, were political in nature. The oath taken at the 1928 Congress and the inclusion of the Indonesian language in the Constitution were essential steps in the moves to achieve and maintain independence, establish a centralized government and unify a geographically scattered and linguistically complex area through the employment of a lingua franca as a common medium of communication. The Malay language became "Bahasa Indonesia," one of the symbols of nationalism and, after the Revolution against the Dutch, of the newly independent state.

Political motives similar to those which influenced the Indonesian nationalists have determined the linguistic policies of other newly independent states. Thus, in Singapore, Malay was nominated as the national language as an act of government policy aimed at unifying the island's different communities and creating a national consciousness. The choice of language was made when a rapprochement with Malaya occurred in 1963 and despite the fact that the majority of the population of the state is of Chinese race.

In multilingual Burma, feelings of nationalism which accompanied a desire for independent government towards the end of the Second World War and immediately after it, resulted in a radical alteration of language policy. The Report of the Education Policy Enquiry Committee published in Rangoon in 1946 stressed that the study of the dominant language in the country and the preservation of the national character were of great importance in modern Burma. The Committee abandoned previous conciliatory attitudes towards the rights of minority groups.[4] It maintained that since there were a number of minorities and the language of none was used in the economic and social intercourse of the country then it was obvious that the dominant language, the language of the majority, should be recognized and established in the educational system for the whole country. It should, in principle, be the main language of education. As a result of these statements made by the members of the 1946 Committee, reinforced by a Statement of Education Policy made in 1948, Burmese became the official language of the whole of Burma, including the Shan States and other 'non-Burmese' areas.

A well-documented case is India where linguism was listed by the Committee on Emotional Integration in 1961 as one of the forces threatening the unity of the nation.[5] The Committee suggested that the study of the two 'link languages,' Hindi and English, be commenced at an early stage but also advocated that children should study either the mother-tongue or their regional language during the first five years of primary school education and stressed the importance 'for national integration' of introducing Indian languages as media of instruction for all stages of education.

The barriers to communication and understanding in multilingual countries such as India were strengthened by the fact that many were obliged to use a language not always native to the country for governmental, administrative and legal purposes. Non-native languages were implanted, sometimes replacing the indigenous languages and sometimes existing coterminously with them. Imposed by military and political authority and also for commercial reasons, these languages gained currency because of their prestige as languages of wider communication, or because they were media through which technological skills and jobs might be acquired, or because they purveyed and interpreted religions which were accepted by a large majority of the population.

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The Imposed Languages and Missionary Education in Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia

As imposed languages in Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia, English and Dutch were introduced through the trading operations of the British and Dutch East India Companies and spread through religious and educational activities which were often related and which challenged established religious and educational systems.

(a) Malaya and Singapore:

The advent of missionaries in Malaya and Singapore began with the conquest of Malacca in 1511 by the Portuguese, Alfonso D'Albuquerque. Accompanying his fleet were eight Franciscan chaplains of whom, according to Lee(1963), six remained in Malacca after Albuquerque left for Goa. Thence followed the building of churches and the growth of Catholicism in Malacca which became a province of the diocese of Goa in 1557, taking under its authority Burma, Siam, Solor, Timor, Amboina and the Moluccas. In 1548, following a visit by St. Francis Xavier to Malacca, a school was opened with an initial enrollment of 180 students, but further direct educational work in the name of Catholic Christianity was somewhat neglected in Malaya and Singapore until the nineteenth century.

In 1641, the Portuguese in Malacca were besieged by the Dutch who eventually occupied the town, razing all the churches except one[6] and deporting nearly half of the 3,000 inhabitants so that, notes Winstedt (1935), only 1,603 Portuguese and Eurasians remained in and near Malacca at the end of the year. '...The Ouvider-General, the priests and the Jesuits and the Principal Portuguese' sailing 'in a Dutch ship for Negapatam, while the Portuguese troops were sent to Batavia...' Despite the hostility of the Protestant Dutch, the Portuguese and Eurasian survivors continued to practice their faith in secret, assimilated some of the Dutch merchants and soldiers so that many Eurasian Catholics in Malacca today have Dutch names, and preserved themselves as a distinct race with their own customs and language--lingua de christao--derived from sixteenth century Portuguese.

Until the arrival of the British and the East India Company in the Malayan Archipelago and the introduction of the English language into the area,[7] the languages of Portugal and Holland competed through Roman Catholicism and Protestantism with Arabic, the medium of instruction in the Koran schools of Islam which had flourished in the Malacca Sultanate from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The East India Company encouraged the spread of English. Pursuing a laissez faire policy in both commerce and religion and taking a gradual and evolutionary line in education, it assisted missionary societies of both Roman Catholic and Protestant persuasion to found (so runs an official letter to London written in 1823) '...schools to enlighten and improve its heathen subjects.' It also offered financial aid, provided that the English language was taught. Thus, the Penang Free School, founded in 1816 by the East India Company's chaplain, Rev. R. S. Hutchings had, as stated in a letter from the Governor to London, a regulation that '...any or all of the children may be instructed in reading and writing English.' The Catholic Free School which opened in Penang in 1829 used English as a medium of instruction and received a grant of $100 from the Government and a letter to the London Missionary Society of 23 November, 1826 notes that Thomas Beighton, a representative of the London Missionary Society, was allowed an increased grant for educational work because:

> 'The Government, adverting to the advantages it already derives from the schools established at this period, to the means which they open to the general extension of education amongst the native population and the further benefit that may reasonably be expected by making the instruction in the English language part of their object have been pleased to increase the allowance.'

The work of the Anglican church began officially in Malaya when Hutchings was appointed as the East India Company's chaplain in Penang and, according to the February, 1928 issue of the Singapore Diocesan Magazine, its influence was extended to Singapore in 1826 with the appointment of Rev. Robert Burns as chaplain. The various missions established were organized along linguistic lines so that the Chinese and Indian congregations

in particular tended to be racially homogeneous. Support from the Malays was so weak that only one church could be found in the whole of the diocese in which the services were conducted in Malay.[8] As more Chinese and Indians received an English-medium education, however, the English language services attracted a mixture of Europeans and Asians and helped to break down some of the cultural barriers, although they also tended to encourage the formation of an English-speaking elite.

The most important contributions made by the missions to Malaya and Singapore, apart from the spiritual benefits they disseminated among a proportion of the people, were in the field of education, and the educational systems benefited from their activities. English-medium 'aided' schools, in particular, were supported since they received the highest financial grants from the Government which considered it important to encourage overt missionary work among the Muslim population.

The missionaries, by their efforts in founding and maintaining these schools in Malaya and Singapore, can justly claim to be pioneers of English-language education in the country. However, the policy of giving maximum assistance to English-medium aided schools, while at the same time helping Chinese, Malay and Tamil-medium schools and encouraging the arrangement of church services according to linguistic groupings, postponed the establishment of social and cultural homogeneity among the different races of Malaya and Singapore. The English-speaking group in each area was but one of a number of community groups, each of which had its own affiliations and loyalties. Lack of social and cultural contact existed between the Chinese, Malay, Indian and European communities and, possibly in cases where siblings were educated at schools using different language media, between families within groups.

(b) Indonesia:

Missionary activity in the Netherlands East Indies during the period of the Dutch East India Company's rule was kept to a minimum because of the Company's desire to make the Church subservient to its commercial interests. According to Kraemer (1959), a number of parishes were created in Dutch territory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but there were no more than five ministers when the downfall of the Company came at the end of the eighteenth century. The assumption of administrative authority by the Netherlands Government coincided with increased efforts on the part of the various missions, and the Roman Catholic missions who landed at Batavia in 1808 were soon followed by Protestant groups sponsored mainly by the Netherlands Missionary Society.[9] Most of the converts were from the non-Muslim population and the most successful work was done in the Batak lands of Sumatra, in Timor, Amboina and the Minahasas. Kraemer (1958) notes that the Society first concentrated its efforts in the East of Java and eventually two mutually independent groups of Christians were created there. One group became very Europeanized, candidates for baptism being instructed in Malay and ultimately absorbed into the Dutch-speaking congregation of Sourabaja. The other group, founded by a Eurasian named Coolen, 'javanized Christianity beyond recognition,' and conducted all its business through the medium of Javanese.

Dutch Christian churches cannot be said to have attracted large numbers of the indigeneous peoples of Indonesia. To some extent, these churches became an integral part of Indonesian life, but their effect on the patterns of its culture was slight. The Dutch language was used for church services in a number of the main centres but, after 1957, with the departure of the bulk of the native Dutch and Dutch-Eurasian population, indigenous languages were reverted to. Djakarta has one church, founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which services in the English language are conducted and an English Minister tends to the spiritual needs of the small native English community. It has little or no influence, however, on the spread of English among the Indonesian population.

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Politics and the Imposed Languages

An imposed language may become the language of political and cultural protest and may so rebound against the occupying power that the political and educational skills learnt through its medium may be used to propagandize other languages.

In Indonesia, the leading figures in the nationalist movement were well versed in Dutch and made use of it to espouse the cause of Malay as the national language. Vreede-De Stuers (1960) notes that during the closing years of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, Kartini, an ardent feminist, corresponded with Stella Handelaar, a Dutch girl, on the topic of female emancipation and also with many people in her own country on a variety of subjects, including education for women and girls and the growth of a freer Indonesian society. Her letters which, according to the nationalist Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, indicated that she wished to see her people rouse themselves from the lethargic sleep in which they had been lost for centuries, were written in Dutch.

Grant (1964) points out that the founder of the multiracial anti-Dutch Indian party, Eduard Douwes Dekker, knew Dutch; Henrik Sneevliet, who created the Indies Social Democratic Association in 1914, was educated in the Netherlands; and the Perhimpoenan Indonesia (Indonesian Union), a nationalist group, was formed in 1922 by Indonesian students studying in Holland.

Among the politicians who took office after independence, Mohamad Hatta[10] and Sutan Sjahir[11] were at Universities in Holland and President Sukarno, although never educated overseas, nevertheless received the kind of education reserved for privileged Indonesians under the Dutch, spoke excellent Dutch and often delivered his speeches in a mixture of Indonesian, English, French and Dutch.[12]

The leading politicians and advocates of independence from British rule in Malaya and Singapore have all been able to make good use of the English language. The first Prime Minister of Malaya, Tengku Abdul Rahman and the present Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, attended English Universities and the first Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. David Marshall, an alumnus (like Mr. Lee Kuan Yew) of Raffles Institution, one of the leading English-medium secondary schools on the island, is noted for the persuasiveness of his English when, as a leading lawyer, he speaks (usually for the defense) at criminal trials.

Although English in Malaya and Singapore and Dutch in Indonesia were employed, to some extent, as vehicles of political protestation, attitudes taken towards the two languages differed in the three areas.

A Dutch Royal Decree promulgated in 1918 permitted the use of Malay in conjunction with Dutch as the media for discussions in the Netherlands East Indies Volksraad (People's Council). However, according to Woodman (1955), in 1924 a Javanese member of the Council was widely criticized for making nationalist propaganda by speaking Malay in an assembly where only the Dutch language was normally used. Halim notes that Mohammad Yamin delivered a speech at the Youth Congress of 1926, in which he correctly predicted that Malay would be the future language of culture and unity of Indonesia. The speech was given in Dutch.

In Malaya and Singapore, the English language was seen by some to be a key to unlock the door leading to self-government. Speeches in the Malayan Federal Legislative Council were normally given in English although permission could be obtained to speak in Malay. The Honorable Enche Puteh, the only Malay woman member of the Council, asked for permission to speak in the Malay language when she addressed the Council on the subject of Malay education in March, 1948. J. B. Neilson (1949), a former Director of Education in Malaya, reported that '...part of her speech was devoted to a plea for greater facilities for Malays to enter English schools and for English to be taught in Malay schools. But she was faithfully interpreting the attitude of her own people, for by speaking in Malay

she emphasized their pride in their mother-tongue and by pressing for attention to English in the Malay school curriculum she stressed their desire to be educationally equipped for the battle of life.'

At the July 1947 meeting of the Singapore Advisory Council for Education, the (British) Director of Education was criticized by a Chinese member of the Council for advocating that teaching in the first stages should be through the medium of the mother-tongue:

> 'English remains the most important language in this country...parents of children of all races should be free to elect which of the schools they would like their children to enter and there should be no bar or compulsion. Otherwise the plan will be regarded as a move either to segregate the races or retard the development of English-language education. There should be free choice, otherwise Government will be imposing a heavy penalty, namely denial of English education as a price for providing vernacular education.... Let us, therefore, remove the bar. Otherwise this plan will operate as an impediment in the progress of the people of this country towards responsible self-government.'

The Educational Systems and The Imposed Languages

In each of the three countries under review, a Western-type academic education was provided through the medium of the imposed language and a second type of education developed using indigenous languages as media of instruction. An influx of immigrants from China and India during the nineteenth century resulted in the establishment of a third type of education whereby Chinese schools were established in Indonesia, and Chinese and Indian Tamil schools were opened in Malaya and Singapore.

Education of the first type received support from missionary societies and, in Malaya and Singapore particularly, missionary influence was strong. Most of the Chinese schools were founded and maintained by clans and other associations. The purpose of the Indian Tamil schools in Malaya and Singapore was to provide the sons and daughters of immigrant plantation workers with an elementary education and these schools were largely the responsibility of the estate managements.

Each of the three types of education was gradually systematized and each ultimately became subject to Government control.

While possessing certain features in common, the educational systems of Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore before independence differed in a number of respects. Education in Indonesia during the colonial period was stratified so as to provide horizontally and vertically for the needs of different social groups. The Dutch and other Europeans formed the most dominant group and as such their educational requirements were catered for on lines parallel to those in the Netherlands. There was exact concordance with Dutch schools, the same subjects were taught and the length of the courses provided and the number of class hours devoted to them were identical.

Apologists for the Dutch colonial regime have maintained that the differentiation between the Dutch and the Indigenous systems of education did not involve discrimination between groups and it is certainly true that every student, provided that he could pass the entrance examination, could meet the cost and could display some evidence of skill in the Dutch language, was eligible to enter any Dutch-medium school. Nevertheless, the majority of students in Dutch language schools were of Dutch nationality. In 1900 only one-ninth of the student population in Dutch public primary schools was Indonesian and forty years later only a third of the students in high schools above the M.U.L.O.[13] level were Indonesians. Dutch educational experts insisted that the Dutch-medium schools should be of a standard fully comparable to those in the Netherlands itself. They were, therefore, expensive to

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maintain and the East Indies Government was slow to expand them. A policy of gradualism was also favored because there was little room in the country's plantation economy for Western-educated Indonesians. The rate of industrialization was slow to progress in the Indies and the increase between 1900 and 1930 was calculated by Furnivall (1944) to be only 3.6 per cent per annum.

When the pace of industrial development quickened somewhat after the First World War it was mainly concerned with the processing of primary products and only a fraction of the work connected with this development was of a type suitable for the Western-educated. As a result, the only employment open for many Indonesians who had attended Dutch-medium schools was government service and even in prosperous times vacancies in this service could not increase by a yearly rate of more than 2 per cent, whereas Western education of Indonesians was increasing, according to Kahin (1946) at a rate of nearly 7 per cent per annum. The reluctance of the Dutch to raise this rate was, therefore, logical in terms of the economic facts as they saw them. Similar economic factors influenced the British in the Federated Malay States and accounted for the care with which they supported the development of Malay-language schools and the trouble they took to find a curriculum suitable for the children of parents who were mainly engaged in rural, agricultural occupations.

While the opportunities open to Indonesians to obtain a Western-type schooling were limited, every effort was made to provide facilities for Dutch children. In 1930, as the Censuses conducted in that year indicated, 70 per cent of the Europeans living in the Indies were born there and, in common with their countrymen from Holland, they were employed in a great variety of occupations and at a number of levels. They filled senior posts at the tops of the civil service and commercial hierarchies, but they also worked as artisans and held positions at the rank of foreman and supervisor. Their living conditions in the cities and in the rural areas were adjusted to their financial and social status, their periods of leave in the Netherlands were few and many of them retired in the Indies after a lifetime's work in the country. In such circumstances they anticipated and were provided with an educational system which, up to the conclusion of the secondary phase, was virtually equal to that of the Netherlands.

The British, on the other hand, did not, as the Dutch did the Indies, regard Malaya and Singapore as 'home,' an extension of the mother country. Only rarely were they employed below the professional, executive and managerial level and retirement in the Malay States and Singapore was exceptional. They sent their children to small private schools in the chief cities, or to larger schools which were established at hill stations, until they reached the ages of seven or eight years, and then dispatched them to preparatory and 'public' schools in the United Kingdom to receive the major part of their education. A 'dual system' of education did not therefore develop in Malaya and Singapore if the term is taken to mean an arrangement whereby separate provision was made for Westerners and Western-oriented indigenes and the rest of the indigenous population and the Government did not assume any responsibility for the education of British or other European students. The imposed language was, nevertheless, used widely in the education system and, of the Malay-medium, Tamil-medium and English-medium schools, a secondary education could only be obtained in the latter until comparatively recent times. The entry into these schools was therefore multiracial although in Singapore, which has a predominately Chinese population, the Chinese were in the majority. Chinese parents in Malaya and Singapore were able to make a choice for their children between an education available in private, aided and ultimately Government schools through the medium of Kuo Yu and an education through the medium of English in aided and Government schools.

A similar choice of medium could be made in Indonesia except that education through the medium of Dutch implied, to some extent, racial separation. All the students in the Dutch-Chinese schools were Chinese, all the students in the Chinese language schools were Chinese and, if a student succeeded in gaining entry to a Dutch school, most of his fellow students would be Dutch and only a small minority would be of any other race.

The Present Position and Status of the Imposed Languages

The language of learning and the most important key to Western culture in the Netherlands East Indies was Dutch. It was the medium of instruction at the secondary level and despite the fact that a number of Indonesian intellectuals, influenced by nationalism, pressed for the development of Malay as the national language, its speakers, whether Dutch or Indonesian, enjoyed considerable social prestige. The revolutionary course steered by the nationalists following the Second World War, however, hardened their attitude towards Dutch so that ultimately a complete ban was placed on the use of the language after the confiscation of Dutch estates and other property in 1957 and the severance of diplomatic relations between Holland and Indonesia in 1960. It was not until recently that the ban was lifted and diplomatic relations restored.

The curricula of the secondary schools in the Netherlands East Indies included a number of non-Indonesian languages and these were taught as foreign languages. Amongst them was English, an important subject in the secondary schools of Holland and an essential choice for the syllabus in the Indies because it was widely used in neighboring countries. It was employed as a lingua franca between Dutch and other members of the business community and it was a world language, a common language for the conduct of international affairs. One consequence of the pre-war Dutch educational system which restricted higher education to a limited number of the indigenous peoples was that Indonesia was encouraged to turn to other Western powers for assistance after independence had been achieved. The volume of aid received from English-speaking countries after the 1939-1945 War stimulated the spread of the English language and emphasized its usefulness as a means of access to scientific and technical information. Dutch education policy was therefore one of the several factors responsible for the supersession of Dutch and the elevation of English into the position of first foreign language, a position which it still holds officially in the present education system.

The education imparted by the English-medium schools in Malaya and Singapore, although often said to be 'literary' in nature, was also vocational in that it provided adequate training for various categories of clerical and administrative employment and the parents were influenced by the career opportunities it offered to their children. This pressure to learn the English language increased as the economy of the two areas expanded through the success of the Malayan rubber and tin industries and the transformation of Singapore from a small fishing village to a large entrepot port.

The post-war policy in both Malaya and Singapore of steadily increasing the opportunities for all races to learn English in English-medium schools, the development of training courses for teachers of English in Chinese-medium schools and the introduction of English as a compulsory subject in all Malay, Chinese and Indian schools in 1956 did much to establish the language as a unifying force and offset the pre-war tendency of the English-medium schools to create an elite. This encouragement of a language which had international status and which could lead to qualification in technical and professional disciplines put many of the new skills within reach of the inhabitants and smoothed the path to independence by providing a core of trained personnel able to assume responsibilities previously exercised by expatriate officials.

The English language is now the first foreign language taught in schools and colleges in Indonesia and, although it no longer has the status of an official language, it is the major second language of the Malaysian educational system. In Singapore, it plays a major role in the schools as a medium of instruction and also as a second language. All three countries are members of the Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization which, in 1966, established a Regional English Language Center in Singapore for the purposes of improving standards of teaching English as a second or foreign language in the member countries. The importance of English for the region is acknowledged in the Organizations' catalog published in 1972:

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'The enthusiastic participation in RELC activities by all eight SEAMEO countries indicates that they firmly believe in the benefits to be gained in terms of educational advancement and economic development from a common language for communication (i.e., English) both within the region and with countries outside Southeast Asia.'

FOOTNOTES

[1]All languages have grammatical structures and vocabularies which are subject to analysis and description. The question is 'whether or not the culture with which the language is traditionally associated has developed a formally accepted set of rules about the way in which the language is supposed to behave.' See Stewart (1962, p. 24)

[2]This is the language used in the courts of the Malay Sultans.

[3]This refers to language contacts made between Chinese speakers and speakers from various other groups. Stewart holds that Creole and Pidgin languages are the result of the development of a secondary language for wider communication in certain kinds of social and linguistic contact situations where grammatical and lexical material from different sources became fused. A Pidgin is such a language in its primary stage, when it is spoken only as a second language. See Stewart (1962, pp. 19, 20)

[4]As expressed, for example, in the Report of the Education Reconstruction Committee 1942, published by the Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1947, which recommended that indigenous vernacular languages other than Burmese and English should be permitted to be taught in Primary schools in which there was a majority of students whose mother tongues were neither Burmese nor English.

[5]See the Report of the Committee on Emotional Integration, Ministry of Education, India, 1962. Other forces listed were caste, communalism (in this case religious--Hindu and Muslim), provincialism, frustration among young people, and a lack of idealism.

[6]St. Paul's Church, built by the Portuguese, was turned into the Church of the Reformed Religion by the Dutch.

[7]The first British intrusion into the area occurred at Penang, acquired by treaty with the Sultan of Kedah in 1786, as the result of negotiations between the Sultan and Francis Light, acting firstly on behalf of the firm Jourdain, Sullivan and De Souza of Madra and then the East India Company. Parts of the British Law--and therefore the English language--were introduced in 1800. The first professional judge appointed in 1801 was a Mr. Dickens, uncle of the novelist. See Winstedt (1935).

[8]This was St. Andrew's School, Singapore, founded by the St. Andrew's Church Mission.

[9]The attention of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was drawn to the Indies, and in particular, Sumatra, as a result of the publication of Sophia Raffles 'Memoir of Sir Stamford Raffles,' in 1830. The 'Memoir' deals extensively with Raffles' encouragement of the first missionary efforts in Sumatra. A preliminary survey of Java was made on the Board's behalf by David Abel in 1831 and his reports added to the Board's interest in the area. However, the murder in Sumatra of Samuel Munson and Henry Lyman, who had been appointed by the Board to explore Sumatra for mission possibilities, and the subsequent obstruction of American missions by the Dutch authorities prevented any development in the area until 1900, when the Seventh-Day Adventists established the first permanent American mission. See Gould (1961, pp. 112-118).

[10]Mr. Hatta, a Sumatran, studied in the Commercial College in Rotterdam. He held a Senior Specialist Award at the East-West Center, in Honolulu, Hawaii, from April to September, 1968.

[11]Sjahir married a Dutch lady while in Holland. His book Out of Exile, John Day, 1949, is an interesting account of the nationalist struggle.

[12]The writer attended the annual Graduation Day ceremony of the University of Indonesia held at the Djakarta Sports Stadium in September, 1963. President Sukarno gave an hour-long speech to the faculty and students present and used all four languages referred to.

[13]Meer Uitgebried Lager Onderwijs. These schools were established for Indonesian students in 1913. They provided two years of instruction at the post-primary level in Dutch. Successful students might qualify for admission to Dutch secondary schools.

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